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I therefore see no escape from the conclusion that ten *krors* is the right figure; that the estimates of Nizam-ud-din and Abul Fazl agree; and that the *murádi tankah* is neither the one-fifth of a *dám* mentioned in the *Ain* nor the modern "double pyce," but an imaginary integer of copper accounts whereof sixty-four equal one silver Rupee. I conclude, farther, that this sum was increased, by the end of the reign, to about twelve *krors*; that increase being due to good settlements and a firm administration. Of course my conclusion is wholly inconsistent with the complaint of Sir R. Temple (*India in* 1880) that the British get no more out of the empire than the Mughals did. But that is a complaint which would, as I imagine, be endorsed by very few persons who were acquainted with the facts.

## On the Identity of Upello with Upaplava.—By RISHI KESH BHATTÁCHÁRYA SHÁSTRÍ.

With reference to a letter which was sent a few days ago by the Deputy Commissioner, Delhi, asking about the site of the city of Upello or (the correct word) Upaplava mentioned in the Virátaparva, Mahábhárata, I beg to submit the following which I hope may throw some light on the subject.

As Sanskrit literature is wholly destitute of trustworthy geographical records, it is not easy, after the lapse of ages, to ascertain precisely the site of several places enumerated in the Puránas. A skilful conjecture only may be made by way of solving the problems of such a nature.

The sloka referred to in the letter is :---

## उपसवं समागत्य खान्धावारं प्रविश्व च। पाण्डवानघ तान् सर्व्वान् श्रत्वस्वच ददर्श ह॥

" Salya having arrived at Upaplava entered the camp and saw there all the Pándavas."

Nílakantha in his commentary on this sloka says—उपस्रवं विराटनगरस प्रदेशविशेषम् "Upaplava is a city in the kingdom of Viráta" (Matsyadesa). So the solution of the question solely depends on finding out the site of Matysyadesa or the kingdom of Viráta, a task which is as difficult as may be expected at a time like this when all the geographical names of ancient India have assumed quite different forms.

However, we must try to trace the place by collecting local traditions as well as Pauránika descriptions relating to the subject.

It is a common saying among the people of Midanapur district in Bengal that, the Matsyadesa of ancient times had been situated in the vicinity of that district, while others state that the kingdom of Viráța had been situate near the Maldah district in Northern Bengal; and both parties show some ruins to verify their respective theories.\*

I found the other day in a Bengali Map of India by a Ganeşachandra Bhaṭṭacharjya that Berar of the present time was marked as the kingdom of Viráṭa of the Mahábhárata. According to the Prákṛita Grammar the word Viráṭa in Sanskrit might be reduced to the form of Biráḍa in the Prákṛita, hence Birára or Berar in the vernaculars. So this last supposition has a strong etymological ground to support it.

The traditions and hypotheses cited above are apparently of such a contradictory nature that from them not much light can be derived. So leaving them aside for a moment, let us search in the Mahábhárata after the districts bordering on Matsyadeşa.

We find in the Digvijaya Parvádhyáya, of Sabháparva, Mahábhárata:--

विजित्याच्पेन कार्लन दश्लार्णानजयत् प्रभुः । तत्र दाश्लार्णको राजा सुधर्म्मा लेामहर्षणम् । छतवान् भीमसेनेन महद् युद्धं निरायुधम् । युध्यमानं बलात् सङ्घे विजिग्ये पाण्डवर्षभः । तता मत्स्यान् महातेजा मलदांश्व महाबलान् ॥

"That Bhima on his way to conquer the eastern countries, having subdued many countries, in a short time came to Daṣárṇa, where Sudharmá the king of the place fought a dreadful battle, but Bhima gained the field. After completing the conquest of this country, the very powerful Bhima subdued the inhabitants of Matsya and Malada respectively."

It is manifest from the above that the Matsyadeşa of Mahábhárata had Daşárṇa on one side and Malada on the other. But this, instead of solving the problem, leads us to a greater confusion. Now the question arises where was Daşárṇa situated, and where Malada? On the reply to this depends our solution, but this is not an easy task.

Mr. Wilson, in his commentary on the 24th sloka of Meghadúta recites the following in respect of Dasárna:

"No traces of this name are to be found in modern maps. It is enumerated in Major Wilford's lists from the Puránas, Asiatic Researches, Vol. VIII, amongst the countries situated behind the Vindhyá mountains and corresponds according to him with Daseréne of Ptolemy's. \* \* \* It may possibly correspond, at least in part, with the modern district of Chattisgarh,

\* [This is a mistake, according to Dr. R. Mitra, who thinks "that the Pandit must have confounded Midnapur with Dinajpur which has often been described as the Viráța of the Mahábhárata." See *Proceedings*, A. S. B., August 1880. On the identification of Viráța, see General Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, vol. Ip. 350. ED.] as the etymology of both words refers to similar circumstances, Chattisgarh being so named from its being supposed to comprise thirty-six forts. According to Bharata the commentator on our text, Daşárṇa is derived from Daşa ten and Rina a stronghold or Durga of the Peninsula and hence means the district of the ten citadels."

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If we rely on the above a part of the question is solved. Let us now look after Malada.

In his commentary on the 15th sloka of Meghadúta in which a term Mala occurred, Mr. Wilson observes that "the easterly progress of the cloud and the subsequent direction by which he is to reach the mountain A'mracúta, prove that the place here mentioned must be somewhere in the immediate vicinity of Ruttanpore, the chief town of the northern half of the province of Chattisgarh and described in Captain Blunt's tour, Asiatic Researches, Vol. II, the only modern traces that can be found of it are in a plane called Malda, a little to the north of Ruttanpore; in Ptolemy's map there is a town called Maleta and situated with respect to the Vindya mountains similarly with the Mala of our poet."

Many places may be found in the map of India under the name of Mala or Malwa. A term which according to the Prákrita Grammar may be supposed to have been derived from the Sanskrit Malada. Mr. Wilford in his lists from the Puránas has applied this name to the Malabhoom of Midanapur, Bengal, while according to Pliny Malas are the countries of the Mali of the Punjab, a tribe who are described to have fought a dreadful battle with Alexander the Great. Besides these, a district of the same name, as we have already mentioned, is still to be found in northern Bengal.

This being the case, nothing can be precisely determined by merely saying that Matsyadesa was situated between Dasárna and Malada; for we cannot ascertain which of the above mentioned places is meant here. (1) If Malabhoom of Midanapur be taken for it, the first tradition may be deemed acceptable. (2) If Maldah of Bengal be considered to have been the Malada of the text, it would furnish a strong argument in support of the second. (3) If we concur with Mr. Wilson, the place so described in the Bengali map might be considered as possibly a correct one. So the solution still is enveloped in hopeless confusion.

Let us adopt another way which may lead us to the correct place.

Manu in his division of India states :---

"सरखती दृषद्वत्येदिवनद्योर्थदन्तरम्। तं देवनिर्मितं देशं ब्रह्मावर्त्तं प्रचचते॥ कुरुचेत्रं च मत्स्याच पाञ्चालाः श्रूरसेनकाः। एष ब्रह्मर्षिदेश्रो वे ब्रह्मावर्त्तादनन्तरः॥" "The sacred place lying between the two divine rivers Saraswatí and Drishadwatí (Gagra) is called Brahmávarta, and next to Brahmávarta is Brahmarshideşa, a place consisting of Kurukshetra, Matsya, Pánchála, and Súrasenaka."

Kullúkabhațța, in his commentary on the last sloka, says "मत्यादिएव्दा बडवचनाना देएविशेषवाचकाः—पाञ्चालाः कान्यकुलदेशाः एर्रसेनका मय्रादेशाः" "The words Matsya &c., when used as plural, denote the countries of the same names. Pánchála is the name of Kányakubjadesa and Súrasena of Mathurá."

It would be out of place here to discuss whether Pánchála and Kányakubja are two different names of the same place. Yet it may be safely inferred that even at the time of *Kullúkabhaţţa* the names of the places mentioned in the old books must have become obsolete, otherwise Kullukabhaţţa would have pointed out the modern name of Matsya. Nevertheless it is evident from the above mentioned passage of Manu that Matsya Deşa was situate next to Kurukshestra in the Ambala district and was probably on the south-east of it.

Again we find in Viráțaparva, Mahábhárata—the way of the Paṇḍavas from Kámyavana—a forest extending on the banks of the Saraswatí to Matsyadeșa is described as follows :—

> "उत्तरेण दश्रार्णांसे पाञ्चालान् दत्तिणेन च। खन्तरेण यद्यत्नोमान् प्रारसेनांख पाण्डवाः। लुव्या बुवाणा मतस्यस्य विषयं प्राविश्रन् वनात्॥"

"Páṇḍavas calling themselves hunters and going straight by north of Daṣárṇa, south of Pánchála and through Yakrilloma and Ṣúrasena reached the kingdom of Matsya." From this passage we may easily infer that Matsyadeṣa must have been situate on the north-west of Ṣúrasena (modern Mathurá), a place nearly corresponding with that of Manu.

Moreover it is mentioned in the Gograhaparvádháya, Virátaparva of the Mahábhárata, that Matsyadesa was situated on the south-east of Hastinapur, then the capital of India, and was at a distance of two days' journey from it, thus :---

> "ते तु गला यथादिष्टां दिशं वक्नेर्महीपते। सन्नदा रथिनः सर्व्वे सपादाता बलात्वराः। प्रतिवैरं चिकीर्षन्ता गेषु ग्टदा महाव्रताः। खपरे दिवसे सर्व्वे राजन् ससूय कीरवाः। खपरो दिवसे सर्व्वे राजन् ससूय कीरवाः। खप्रग्यां ते न्यग्टकन्त गेाकुलानि सहस्रशः॥"

A place called Hathnapore in the Mirut district is supposed to be the Hastinapore of the Mahábhárata. This supposition also, if correct, supports our point. On the whole we may be satisfied that Matsyadesa must have

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been situated between Mathurá and Delhi, and consequently the Paṇḍits who claim that Upello on the Delhi and Agra road was the Upaplava of ancient times may be quite correct.

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As regards Daşárṇa, although we have not any strong argument on our side to refute Mr. Wilson, yet we may freely urge that there was a Daşárṇa in the north-western Provinces ; for a river of the same name is still to be found in the Hamirpur district, North-West Provinces.

With respect to Malada it is true that no definite trace of it is to be found now. Nevertheless we must consider it to have been situate in the North-Western Provinces. There is a place in the Delhi district called Malwa, from which a large quantity of oil is exported to various provinces of Hindustan. I may throw out the suggestion that this Malwa may be the Malada of the Mahábhárata. If this be the case we have got a consistent theory which may be provisionally accepted as true until some better one be found in its place.

## Translations from the Hamáseh.-By C. J. LYALL, C. S.

In the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1877 I published some translations of old Arabian poetry, chiefly from the Hamáseh, and the following are offered in continuation of those. Somewhat more exactness of metrical form has now been aimed at in the English versions, but I hope that accuracy has not been allowed thereby to suffer. The majority of the poems have been translated in Arabian metres, a full explanation of each of which will be found where it occurs. A critic in the Academy, noticing the previous series, has called in question the possibility of giving in the English language any idea of Arab metres, or at least the adequacy of the attempt made in that series. On that occasion, however, I aimed (with one exception) at no exact reproduction in English of the order and quantity of the syllables in the Arabic originals : only a general likeness was intended; and that likeness seemed to me to be sufficiently secured. I may mention that I have carefully studied M. Stanislas Guyard's Théorie Nouvelle de la Métrique Arabe, and that any discrepancy which may be detected between his views on the Arabian metres and mine is not due to my ignorance of the former. The four metres which I have imitated in the translations are the Tawil, the Hezej, the Kamil, and the Wafir (the last exactly only in one poem, No. III : in Nos. XV and XXII only the general scheme is followed).

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